

Message Text

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PINR, CH

SUBJECT: RECENT APPOINTMENTS FEATURE OLD CADRES, WEAKEN MILITARY
STRONGHOLDS.

REF: HONG KONG'S A-203, A-205, A-211, A-213

1. THE LARGE NUMBER OF REHABILITATIONS AND TRANSFERS WHICH
CAME TO LIGHT AT THE 1975 NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATION (SEE
REFAIRS) ARE EXAMPLES OF TWO MAGR TRENDS OF PRC INTERNAL
POLICY: (1) CONTINUED RELIANCE ON OLD CADRES, EVEN THOSE
WITH "SHORTCOMINGS" EXPOSED IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION;
AND (2) EFFORTS TO PREVENT MILITARY OFFICERS FROM GAINING
OR CONSOLIDATING TERRITORIAL CHIEFS.

2. THIS YEAR'S REHABILITATIONS INCLUDED A LARGE NUMBER OF
CULTURAL FIGURES, FORMER ASSOCIATES OF OUSTED PROPAGANDA
CHIEF LU TING-YI AND/OR OF FORMER PEKING MAYOR PENG CHEN.

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WHILE RUMORS HAVE SPREAD FOR SOME MONTHS THAT LU OR PENG

OR EVEN FORMER CULTURAL CZAR CHOU YANG MAY BE IN LINE FOR REHABILITATION, NONE HAS YET MADE ANY PUBLIC APPEARANCE. EVEN WITHOUT THESE MAJOR FIGURES, HOWEVER, THE WHOLESALE REHABILITATION OF THEIR SUBORDINATES WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE VIEWED BY SOME CHINESE AS A REPUDIATION OF THE CULTURAL SIDE OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, AND REINFORCES THE IMPRESSION THAT CHIANG CHING'S STAR IS STILL ON THE WANE. THE APPOINTMENT OF THESE REHABILITEES TO CULTURAL OR PROPAGANDA POSITIONS WOULD BE FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THIS TREND.

3. THERE IS PERHAPS LESS IDEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THE LARGE NUMBER OF FORMER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, PARTICULARLY VICE MINISTERS, WHO ARE NOW BEING RESUSCITATED AND, IN SOME CASES, RETURNED TO THEIR OLD JOBS. THESE REHABILITATIONS CAN BE SEEN, HOWEVER, AS PART OF AN EFFORT BY TENG HSIAO-PING TO SURROUND HIMSELF WITH MEN WHOSE BACKGROUNDS ARE SIMILAR TO HIS AND WHO SUFFERED A SIMILAR FATE DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. THEY ARE ALSO AN APPARENT INDICATION OF THE INABILITY OR UNWILLINGNESS OF THE REGIME TO GROOM "REVOLUTIONAL SUCCESSORS" TO THE PRESENT GENERATION.

THE MOST STRIKING EXAMPLE OF THIS WAS THE APPOINTMENT OF CHIA CHI-YUN YUNNAN'S NEW PARTY FIRST SECRETARY ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS REHABILITATION. OF THE 11 FIRST SECRETARIES APPOINTED IN THE PAST 18 MONTHS, ALL BUT FOUR HAD BEEN PURGED IN THE CR.

4. THE RELATIVELY LARGE NUMBER OF MILITARY TRANSFERS IN THE PAST FEW MONTHS IS A SEPARATE BUT PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT. ONE RESULT OF THE TRANSFERS IS THE UPROOTING OF A NUMBER OF MILITARY OFFICERS, INCLUDING FOUR MILITARY DISTRICT COMMANDERS, WHO HAVE HELD CONCURRENT PARTY AND GOVERNMENTAL POSITIONS. MOST NOTABLE ARE THE TRANSFERS OF CHENG SEN-SHENG, WHO WAS HOPEH SECOND SECRETARY; TSAO SZU-MING, SINKIANG THIRD SECRETARY; AND CHEN KANG, WHO WAS NUMBER THREE IN THE YUNNAN PARTY. THESE MOVES CONTINUE AT A LOWER LEVEL THE REMOVAL OF PLA MEN FROM KEY PROVINCIAL POLITICAL POSITIONS WHICH BEGAN WITH THE MASSIVE TRANSFER OF MILITARY REGION COMMANDERS AT THE END OF 1973.

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5. THE MILITARY TRANSFERS ALSO SEEM DESIGNED TO ENHANCE TENG HSIAO-PING'S INFLUENCE IN THE VARIOUS MILITARY REGIONS. AS AN EXAMPLE THE NEWLY NAMED PROFESSIONAL POLITICAL COMMISSARS IN SINKIANG AND KUNMING ARE BOTH FORMER ASSOCIATES OF TENG.

6. COMMENT: BY NO MEANS ALL PLA PARTY POWERHOLDERS HAVE BEEN REMOVED, AND PEKING MAY WISH TO PRESERVE A CERTAIN

DEGREE OF STABILITY IN PROVINCIAL LEADERSHIP. BUT WE
EXPECT THE REGIME, WHERE FEASIBLE, TO CONTINUE TO SHIFT
ITS MILITARY COMMANDERS AROUND IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PRE-
VENT THE CONSOLIDATION OF "MOUNTAINTOP STRONGHOLDS." IT
IS ALSO REASONABLE TO EXPECT FUTHER REHABILITATION AND
HIGH-LEVEL UTILIZATION OF OLD CADRES, THUS POSTPONING
STILL FUTHER THE DAY WHEN THE PRC COMES FULLY TO GRIPS
WITH ITS LONG-PERM SUCCESSION PROBLEM: WHO WILL RUN CHINA
ONCE THE LONG MARCH GENERATION HAS FINALLY PASSED FROM
THE SCENE?
CROSS

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